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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : Political, Propaganda and Intelligence Project  
Targeted Against the Soviet Ukraine

1. Operational Summary. Since 1953 CIA has directed the Prolog Research Corporation, providing virtually all of its financial support. Prolog is composed of a small group of Ukrainian emigres which CIA has directed since 1950 in clandestine operations, ranging from resistance in the Ukraine to dialogues with Ukrainian intellectuals, and the publication of anti-Soviet propaganda. It is proposed to continue CIA support of Prolog.

2. Previous 303 Committee Approvals. On 1 December 1967, the 303 Committee approved continuation of CIA's relationship to Prolog. It recommended annual review of Prolog's value and effectiveness; approved the merger of Prolog's activities with its Munich affiliate, and the continued residence of certain Prolog personnel in the United States.

3. Cover and Personnel. CIA was not able to merge Prolog and the Munich office for two reasons. The two principals, Mikola Lebed and Myroslav Prokop, without which Prolog would not exist, decline to move abroad, and there was reason to believe that German Government receptivity to emigre groups was no longer promising. Instead, the status of Prolog was changed from a tax-free, non-profit organization to that of a profit-making commercial enterprise, and all of its publishing activity was moved abroad. Prolog is based in New York and has an affiliate in Munich. Prolog's contact with Soviets, conducted from its New York office, and its publishing activities in Munich assist in achieving the project objectives. The ostensible source of income for both New York and Munich is from unnamed private individuals and institutions abroad for whom research contracts are fulfilled.

4. Coordination. The U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Germany, and Mr. Malcolm Toon, the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs concur in the recommendation that the project be continued.

5. Security. The nine witting collaborators are ex-members of the Ukrainian underground and have worked closely together for more than 25 years. Their ages are such that they can be expected to continue as a group for about another 10 years. As a security measure, no new members have been accepted into the witting circle. The contact operations utilize Prolog sympathizers, but these are not aware of CIA support. The German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) is aware in general of our support to the group. There have been no developments of a security nature since the last 303 Committee review.

6. Costs. The project cost for FY 1969 is \$2 0, available in the SB Division budget. Income from sale of publications is negligible.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCESMETHODEXEMPTION 3820  
VAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

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Acting Chief, SB Division

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CONCUR:

Deputy Director for Plans Date

Release of the attached proposal  
to members of the 303 Committee  
is authorized:

Executive Director-Comptroller

Date

Director of Central Intelligence

Date

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4 DEC 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: The 303 Committee

SUBJECT : Political, Propaganda and Intelligence Activity Directed Against the Soviet Ukraine

1. SUMMARY

CIA established and has directed the Prolog Research Corporation since 1953, providing virtually all of its financial support. Since the December 1967 review by the 303 Committee, all of the publishing activities except a Ukrainian-language bulletin have been relocated in Munich with an affiliate, known as the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies. The president of Prolog Research Corporation resides in the United States and is recognized and accepted as the head of the organization by all its members and sympathizers in the U.S. and abroad. The U.S. Charge' d'Affaires in Germany and Mr. Malcolm Toon, the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs approve its continuation. CIA support to Prolog's activities is budgeted for \$188,000 for FY 1969.

2. PROBLEM

Resistance in the Ukraine to Russian dominance and to intellectual suppression has grown in recent years, but

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it received little or no attention in the West until an increasing number of revealing documents were brought to the West by Ukrainian emigres who visited in the Ukraine. There is continued evidence of dissaffection in the Ukraine revealed in documents brought to the West, in the Soviet press and in conversations with Soviet citizens. Prolog is CIA's only vehicle for operations directed at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. While Prolog reflects and encourages Ukrainian nationalism, it does not attempt in any way to provoke active separatist manifestations in the Ukrainian SSR. Since minority nationalism is currently expressed primarily by dissident writers, Prolog's role as a Western sounding-board for intellectual dissidence is consonant with CIA's other efforts to encourage liberal sentiment in the USSR as a whole.

3. FACTORS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

a. Organizational Developments

On 1 December 1967, the 303 Committee approved continuation of CIA's relationship to Prolog and recommended annual review of Prolog's value and effectiveness; approved the merger of Prolog's activities with its Munich affiliate, and the continued residence of certain Prolog personnel in the United States; took note of the fact that Prolog publications would continue to find a limited market in the

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United States.

CIA was not able to merge Prolog and the Munich office for two reasons. The two principals, without which Prolog would not exist, decline to move abroad, and there was reason to believe that German Government receptivity to emigre groups was no longer promising. Instead, the status of Prolog was changed from a tax-free, non-profit organization to that of a profit-making commercial enterprise. The Prolog Research and Publishing Association, Inc. was dissolved and formally reconstituted into the Prolog Research Corporation. The name "Prolog" was retained because of the prestige the name has acquired over the years in the emigre community and particularly among Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals. The publishing activities of the organization were all transferred abroad, with the exception of one bi-monthly, the Ukrainian-language Information Bulletin, which is directed exclusively to Soviet Ukrainians and mailed to them from various countries. Contacts with Soviet citizens, travelling in areas where Prolog collaborators are located as in the past continue to be directed by Prolog. These contacts are private and unpublicized, and CIA has control over the dissemination of the information obtained as a result of these contacts. Prolog is funded via a

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bank, and the funds necessary to operate the Munich office also are channeled directly to Munich via Switzerland. The funds for both the New York and Munich offices ostensibly come from unnamed private individuals and institutions abroad for whom research contracts are fulfilled.

b. Identification and History of Prolog

During the years 1948 through 1954, during which time CIA conducted joint operations into the Ukraine with the Prolog group, the latter proved its ability to reestablish communications with resistance forces in the Ukraine. After 1954 when all organized internal opposition was suppressed, the Prolog group concentrated on political and propaganda objectives and contact operations against Soviet citizens. Propaganda and contact activities continued to expand each year. In fiscal year 1968 Prolog collaborators brought to the West 20 documents indicating dissent in the Soviet Ukraine, and distributed to Soviet nationals more than 1200 copies of a variety of books and about 13,000 copies of periodicals, pamphlets, newspapers and other publications. Acknowledgement that this literature is a problem to Soviet authorities has been revealed not only in the Soviet press but during personal contacts between Prolog collaborators and Soviet nationals. Soviet cultural and diplomatic officials have willingly engaged in conversations with Prolog collaborators and tried to court at least three of them. Internally, there are indications that Soviet authorities

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are seriously concerned that indigenous Ukrainians are agreeing with Ukrainian emigre charges of discrimination against the Ukraine.

c. Value to the U.S. Government

Prolog's collaborators represent a promising channel to Soviet Ukrainians of political and cultural influence. Contacts between these collaborators and Soviet citizens continue to produce biographical information on Soviets of interest, and in the past four years, Prolog collaborators brought to the West over thirty documents revealing great disaffection in the Ukraine and increasingly harsh repression and persecution against Ukrainian intellectuals by Soviet authorities. Soviet alarm concerning the liberalization in Czechoslovakia is believed related to their concern about the disaffection revealed in the Ukraine in the past several years.

d. Prolog's Publications

Prolog is continuing to publish all its periodicals; i.e., Suchasnyst (The Present), the Information Bulletin, and the Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press. In addition, Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), which is published by a splinter group is greatly influenced by Prolog. Special books and pamphlets in the Ukrainian language also are published on topics concerning suppressed

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Soviet literature, Soviet distortions of Ukrainian history, and Soviet documents indicating dissent. Prolog literature is mailed to and distributed by hand to Soviet citizens travelling in the West. The Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, an English-language monthly published by the Munich office, the only such digest believed to be in existence, is mailed to Western subscribers directly from the Munich office. With the exception of the Information Bulletin, all Prolog literature is published abroad and carries no attribution to the U.S.-based activity. The Information Bulletin, published bi-monthly in Ukrainian, is mailed only to Ukrainians in the Soviet Union and in the satellites. It gets no distribution in the West.

e. Current Objectives

The project's current purposes are to (1) increase pressure on the Soviet regime to tolerate minority nationalism, creative freedom and civil rights; (2) encourage prominent Soviet Ukrainians toward these goals; (3) acquire information on political and cultural matters; (4) spot and assess Soviet Ukrainians for possible recruitment.

f. Security and Risks

There have been no developments of a security nature since the last 303 Committee review. The probability

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always exists that as in the previous year Prolog will come under Soviet attack that it is CIA supported but no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the allegation.

4. COORDINATION

a. Intragovernmental.

(1) Mr. Malcom Toon, the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs concurs in this proposal.

(2) The Federal Bureau of Investigation is aware of CIA support to Prolog. Prolog collaborators in the United States who contact Soviet diplomatic and United Nations personnel are either advised to report their contacts to the FBI or such contact is coordinated through CIA.

b. Ambassador.

The U.S. Charge' d'Affairs in Germany was briefed on the Munich activities in late November 1968. He agreed to the proposals made.

c. Host Country.

The German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) is aware of CIA sponsorship of the Prolog organization and its activities in Munich.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS.

CIA recommends that the 303 Committee approve continuation of the CIA relationship, support and direction

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of Prolog's activities. \$E A is provided in the CIA  
FY-1969 budget for this purpose.

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